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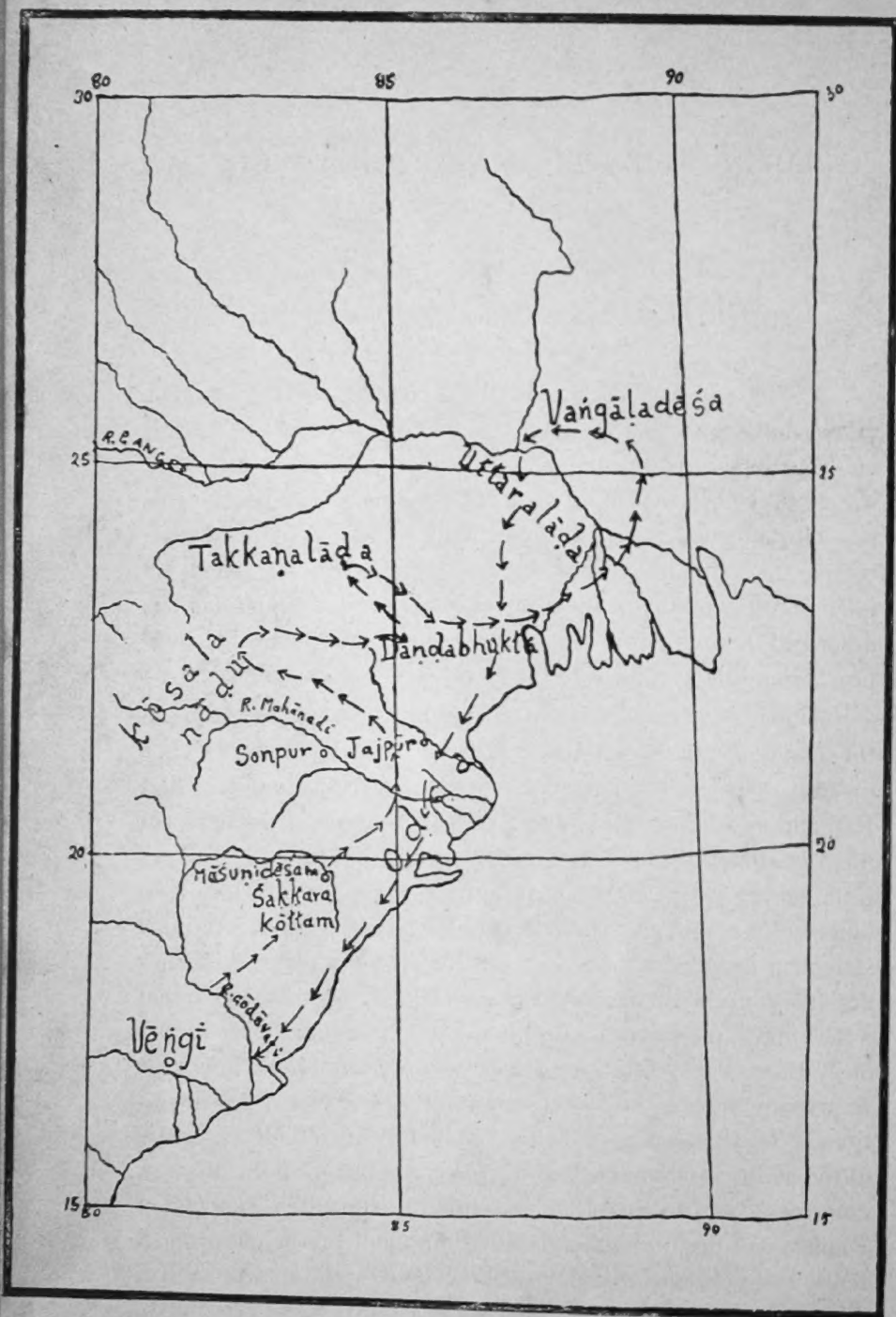
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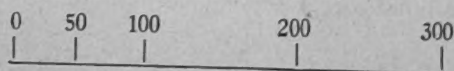
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Map showing Rājendra's Expedition to the Ganges.



(To face page 199, Vol. VII, Part III.)

RĀJĒNDRA'S EXPEDITION TO THE GANGES.

BY

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The illustrious Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra I (1012-45 A. D.) valued nothing so much among his acts as his victorious march into northern India in quest of the holy Ganges. After the successful completion of his project he assumed the title Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa; he named the new capital built by him Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-cōḷapuram, and the great tank in its neighbourhood, which he filled with the waters of the Ganges, Cōḷagaṅgam. This tank is described in one of his inscriptions as the 'liquid pillar of victory' proclaiming his greatness to the world.

Different views have been adopted by modern scholars on the nature of the expedition. The only contemporary evidence on the point is the statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that Rājēndra wanted by the strength of his arm to excel the achievement of Bhagīratha who brought about the descent of the Ganges from heaven by means of his austerities (*tapahprabhāva*), and to sanctify his country by the waters of the sacred stream. And this statement introduces the account of the second stage in the king's *digvijaya*, viz., his expedition to the North. Mr. Venkayya held that "the expedition was more in the nature of a pilgrimage," vicariously undertaken for the king's merit, by his general (*daṇḍanātha*).¹ In arriving at this conclusion he was influenced by two considerations. There was first of all the apparently incredible character of the story, as he understood it. After enumerating the thirteen countries stated to have been overrun by Rājēndra's general, of which according to him Lāḍa was Berar, and Kōsalaināḍu apparently the well-known kingdom of Kōsala (Oudh), he says : "It is difficult to imagine how all this tract of country was overcome in about a year by the Cōḷa army. There is also the difficulty of bringing all the subdued kings together to the south. These

1. A. S. I. 1911, p. 173.

latter must have actually carried the water of the Ganges from somewhere near Allahabad, if the superstitions that now prevail were also current during the eleventh century A. D. In this connection we cannot afford to ignore the beginning of the Gāhadvāla inscription at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram, the Cōḷa capital, quoted in the sequel."¹ We shall see presently that the campaign of Rājēndra's general is not so difficult to follow step by step. We may observe here that it is only by hasty and superficial assumptions regarding the geography of the campaign, and by importing into the account, the popular superstitions of to-day regarding the fetching of the water of the Ganges from Allahabad and a fragmentary Gāhadvāl introduction which occurs in an inscription of nearly a century later than the period with which we are concerned, that Mr. Venkayya reduces the story to an absurd legend, and then proceeds to offer an ingenious theory as to what, in his opinion, actually happened: "As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājēndra Cōḷa's general in about a year, the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded, and if the inhabitants offered any resistance, a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome." Mr. Venkayya's conclusion was also influenced by another consideration.² In the commentary, by Anantaśambhu, of uncertain date, to a Tantric work called *Siddhāntasārāvalī* by Trilōcanaśiva, also of unknown date (but assumed by Mr. Krishna Sastri,³ for some reason not stated, to be a contemporary of Rājēndra), Mr. Venkayya had noticed the presence of some verses stating that "Rājēndra-Cōḷa went for a bath in the Ganges, saw the best of Śaivas there, and brought them with him to settle in his own country, in Kāñcī and throughout the Cōḷa land." It is curious how so cautious a scholar succumbed to the lure of this anonymous text quoted by Anantaśambhu. Its vagueness and its unknown date, and the fact that it directly contradicts the contemporary statements in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that the king sent only his general to the north and himself advanced later only up to the banks of the Gōdāvarī to meet his

1. *idid.* p. 174. See also S. I. I. III, Introdn., p. 20.

2. See A. S. I. 1911-12, n. 3, p. 173, which makes this clear. Also p. 176.

3. S. I. I. Introdn., p. 22.

general on his return march—present no difficulties in Mr. Venkayya's eyes, and dropping the scepticism about the campaign evinced by him at an earlier stage, he attributes large consequences to it, and writes : " The several northern kings who carried the water of the Ganges to purify his country and their connection with the South for some generations after, could not but have affected even the language of the people " ¹ of the Cōḷa country proper. And so it comes about that a pilgrimage to Northern India by a band ' roving pilgrims ' whose course ' cannot be easily traced at present, ' ² produces far-reaching consequences on the language and culture of the Tamil land. There may be, there are, some things incredible in Rājēndra's inscriptions relating to this campaign in quest of Ganges water; Mr. Venkayya's account of it, however, seems to contain rather more than fewer myths.

Not satisfied with Mr. Venkayya's theory of pilgrimage, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar finds another motive actuating Rājēndra in this campaign : " Rājēndra seems to have been an imaginative individual, with a great deal perhaps of the knight-errant in him, though the knight-errant part of his nature was kept well under control both of the conqueror and the statesman as we shall show presently. The notion of the Ganges water must have got into him from the knowledge of the achievements of an early Tamil ruler Śeṅguṭṭuva Śēra, the hero of the *Śilappadikāram* * *

* * All the three sovereigns, Cōḷa, Cēra, and Pāṇḍya alike of ancient fame, lay claim to having cut out their emblems on the face of the Himalayas. There was precedent for imitation as one of the early Pallava rulers lays claim similarly, may be fictitiously, to having similarly cut out his emblem on the Himalayas ³ in obvious imitation of the achievements of these predecessors of his in the south. Rājēndra, ' the Paṇḍita Cōḷa ' as he is called, apparently read of these achievements and obviously wished to make a point to his credit similarly. " ⁴ We may well

1. A. S. I. 1911-12, p. 176.

2. *ibid.* p. 174.

3. The Amarāvati inscription of Simhavarman to which Dr. Aiyangar refers mentions, however, the Sumēru in this connection, not the Himālaya.

4. *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa Cōḷa*, pp. 547-8 (in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume III *Orientalia* Part. 2.)

hesitate to accept as a fact this marvellous and somewhat suspicious coincidence between the results of modern research into the antiquities of the Śaṅgam Age and the Pallava period of South Indian history and the plans of Rājēndra.

The truth is that there seems to be nothing, or only very little, that calls for an explanation in the motives underlying this campaign of Rājēndra. Succeeding in the prime of life to a magnificent heritage, well trained in the arts of war and diplomacy, as it was understood in India in the eleventh century, possessing a splendid striking force in a well-trying army, and, for the time, a powerful navy, Rājēndra did the most natural thing for a king in his situation in undertaking an extensive *digvijaya*. In its earlier stages it followed the usual path, and in less than seven years from the death of his father, he had made his power felt in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries, brought the whole of Ceylon under his sway, and waged successful war with Jayasīṃha, the Western Cālukya, who sustained a defeat at Muśaṅgi, identified with Uccaṅgidurg in Bellary, or Maski in the Nizam's state. After such successes, and with the command of the whole of the Vēṅgi kingdom which was a protectorate, so to say, of the Cōḷas since the restoration of Śaktivarman by Rājarāja I Cōḷa (after the interregnum of twenty-seven years, ending about 1000 A. D.), Rājēndra's mind most naturally turned to doing something more striking, to a grander exhibition of the might of the new-born power of the Cōḷas of the South to the rulers of Uttarāpatha. The fetching of the Ganges water was but a pretext; the demonstration of power and the acquisition of prestige the real motive. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say quite as much. Rājēndra's aim was to acquire for himself a name greater than that of Bhagīratha. The celebrated Eṇṇāyiram inscription,¹ of Rājēndra, in explaining the name Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṇ of the large feeding-house endowed by the king, records that the institution got its name from the fact that the emperor was once pleased to amuse himself by defeating the kings of the northern countries and taking the Ganges at the end of his warlike festival—*yuddhōtsava vibhavattāl gaṅgāparigraham paṇṇiyaruḷiṇa*. It will be seen how the language of this record confirms the impression derived from the statements in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

1. 333 of 1917 I acknowledge gratefully the permission given me by the Archaeological Department to consult the text of this unpublished inscription.

At the end of all his fighting, when a summary statement of his achievements came to be expressed in a brief formula to be adopted in inscriptions which did not give the long *praśasti* found in the other records, three and only three of his conquests were chosen for special mention—Pūrvadēśam, Gaṅgai, and Kaḍāram. This shows clearly that Rājēndra's ambition was to distinguish himself by novel and venturesome undertakings, the successful accomplishment of which would redound to his permanent glory. The campaign we have selected for detailed study relates to the conquest of Pūrvadēśam and Gaṅgai.

Pūrvadēśam was identified with the Vēṅgi kingdom by Mr. Venkayya.¹ This is clearly a mistake. It is doubtless the Pūrvarāṣṭra, ruled over by the kings of Śarabhapura, of whom a few undated records are known. This country was so called because, as Cunningham points out, it lay to the east of the Mēkhala mountain,² the Maikal range of the modern maps. It corresponds roughly to the Southern Kōśala country. We shall see that the course of Rājēndra's army lay through this territory.

Turning for a moment to the chronology of this campaign. No records of the tenth year of Rājēndra are known to mention this campaign of which we hear for the first time in detail in the inscriptions of the eleventh year.³ This fact clearly settles the date of the campaign and fixes it A. D. 1022-3. The course of the campaign is described both in the Tamil *praśasti* usually found in Rājēndra's inscriptions, and in a number of sanskrit verses in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. While the two accounts agree in essentials and relate, quite obviously, to the same campaign, they yet differ in some details, in particular in the order in which the different countries of the north were taken in the march of the Cōḷa forces. These differences will be discussed presently. But on the general question of the relative authority of the two accounts, there is no difficulty in perceiving that the Tamil account which was composed almost immediately after the close of the campaign, is the more trustworthy, as it is, on the whole, more matter of fact than the Sanskrit account marked by quaint conceits and high-flown figures of speech. It must, however, be mentioned that not many years need have elapsed before the

1. A. S. I. 1911-12.

2. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 192, n. 1.

3. 167 of 1917.

Sanskrit *praśasti* of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates was also composed; for, the latest event mentioned in it, the conquest of Kaḍāram, took place before the end of the thirteenth, or at the latest, in the fourteenth year of Rājendra, that is about A. D. 1025-6.

We shall see that the first place to be attacked by the advancing forces of Rājendra was Śakkarakkōṭṭam, the modern Citrakūṭa in the Bastar state. This is explained by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as the result of the expedition having started from the place to which his earlier campaigns had taken him. He says:¹ "Reverting to the details, the farthest place in this direction (to which) Rājendra had advanced before starting on this campaign was Koḷippākkai in the Nizam's dominions. * * *

The campaign apparently began from there, or from somewhere not far off." This conjecture seems to get no support from our sources which are indeed very much against it. It is true that Rājendra had very early in his reign, possibly when his father was still living, invaded the Raṭṭapāḍi country and advanced as far Koḷippākkai, Kulpak, half-way between Hyderabad and Warangal, and captured that place as well as Mālkhed further west. But there is nothing to show that the Cōḷas succeeded in retaining their hold even temporarily on the country across the Tuṅgabhadra, though they found it possible frequently to cross that stream and carry fire and sword into the Western Cāḷukya country. The provenance of the Western Cāḷukya and Cōḷa inscriptions alike renders altogether impossible the supposition that the Cōḷas ever gained such mastery of the country in the neighbourhood of Kulpak as would enable them to fit out an aggressive expedition with that country as the base of their operations. In fact, the evidence of Rājendra's inscriptions in itself makes it quite certain that he did not succeed in annexing the Cāḷukya country across the Tuṅgabhadra. In an expedition subsequent to that in which he attacked Kulpak and Mālkhed, he claims to have defeated Jayasīṃha at Muśaṅgi, a place usually identified with Uchangidroog in the Bellary district to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra. Even accepting Dr. S.K. Aiyangar's identification of this place with Maski celebrated in Aśoka epigraphy, we shall still find that the farthest point reached by Rājendra in this later expedition falls far short of Kulpak, clear proof that the Cōḷas gained no territory for themselves as a result of their

1. *op. cit.*, p. 549.

victories on the other side of the Tuṅgabhadrā. And the chronology is against our supposing that the army which captured Kulpak continued its march, and set out on the Ganges expedition. Kulpak was captured in A. D. 1015, the battle of Muśaṅgi was fought about A. D. 1021, but the expedition to Ganges did not start till after the middle of A. D. 1022. Not only is the view that the expedition to the Ganges started from Kulpak or its neighbourhood opposed to the general course of the relations between the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas, but it is directly contradicted by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. From this source we learn that after his war with the Cāḷukya, Rājēndra returned to his capital.¹ From there he sent his *daṇḍanātha* on his northern expedition with suitable instructions.² And at this time the capital of the empire was Tanjore and no other place. The real explanation for the absence of any incident worth recording until the army reached Śakkarakkōṭṭam is to be found, it seems, in the fact that, until the northern frontier of the Vēṅgi kingdom was crossed, the Cōḷa army was marching along home territory, Vēṅgi being a sort of protectorate of the Cōḷa empire and ruled by a king connected with the imperial Cōḷas by close dynastic alliances. The modern Bastar state will be seen to lie just across the frontier of the old Vēṅgi kingdom.

Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the course of the campaign and the incidents connected with it, the texts bearing on the subject may be reproduced (in translation):³

1. *The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates : (verses 108-124).*

(108) Having conquered the Raṭṭa king with his forces, the politic son of Rājarāja returned to (his) city attended by courage, strength, victory and all his other virtues.

(109) Scoffing at Bhagiratha who, by the power of his austerities, got the Ganges to descend, (this) light of the solar line desired to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges (brought) by the strength of his own arm.

(110) To his commander-in-chief who was at the head of strong battalions, who was the home of valour and the foremost of diplomats, he issued instructions for the conquest of the kings ruling on the banks of that (river) who were opposed (to the enterprise).

1. Verse 108.

2. Verse 110.

3. S. I. I. III, part 111.

- (111) " Before him, as from the slopes of the Himālayas, marched a very large army like the tremendous volume of the waters of the Gaṅgā with wavy rows of moving horses causing all the quarters to resound with its confused clamour."¹
- (112) " The van of his army crossed the rivers by way of bridges formed by herds of elephants. The rest of the army (crossed the same) on foot, because the waters in the meantime had dried up being used by the elephants, horses and men. "
- (113) The forces of Vikrama Cōḷa spread in all directions the dust raised by the (marching of) contingents of elephants, horses and infantry ; and they soon entered the countries of hostile kings.
- (114) The commander of the ornament of the solar race first defeated Indraratha who opposed him with strong battalions of elephants, horses and infantry, and (then) captured the country of that jewel of the lunar race.
- (115) The white parasol of that ornament of the lunar race of which the handle was cut in twain by the sharp arrows in the battle-field fell (to the ground) like the disc of the moon setting, distressed by the dishonour of that king.
- (116) Then depriving Raṇaśūra of his prosperity he entered the land of Dharmapāla; and after conquering that land as well, the general of the Śibi king reached the celestial stream.
- (117) The *daṇḍanāyaka* forthwith caused the most holy water of that river to be carried to his master Mathurāntaka by the defeated kings on its banks.
- (118) (Meanwhile) Rājendra-cōḷa, in his desire for conquest, approached the flowing Gōḍāvarī, and made her suspect of the Lord of the Rivers (the ocean) by the cosmetics from his own limbs (being washed) in a *Jalakēḷikā*.²
- (119) The fierce general conquered Mahīpāla, and put an end to his fame and his great treasures, and caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his own liege-lord.
- (120) That powerful king then defeated in battle the evil minded Oṭṭa (king) with his younger brother and his army and captured his rutting elephants.

1. The translation of this verse and some others are quoted from S. I. I, III.

2. Frolicking in water especially in the company of women.

- (121) In that place, the king, riding on an elephant, himself killed a rutting elephant which rushed right against him.
- (122) Then, with his lotus feet worshipped by high-born kings who had sustained defeat at his hands, he entered his own capital which by its splendours surpassed all the excellences of heaven.
- (123) He then conquered Kaṭāha by getting his mighty forces to cross the ocean, and long protected the whole earth, while all other kings bowed before him.
- (124) Then, with the waters of the Ganges, the king created in his own country a liquid pillar of victory celebrated under the name of Cōlagāṅgam.

II. The corresponding part of the Tamil *praśasti* runs as follows¹ :—

“ He seized Śakkarakkōṭṭam whose warriors were brave; Madurai-maṇḍalam, destroyed in a trice; the prosperous city of Nāmaṇaikkōṇam with its dense groves; Pañcappalli, whose warriors (bore) cruel bows; Māṣuṇidēśa with its green fields; a large heap of family treasures, together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away) after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with his family, in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Oḍḍa-Viṣaya which was difficult of approach, on account of its dense forest-defence; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇa-Lāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅgāla-dēśa, where the rain-water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahīpāla together with Śaṅgu who wore the anklet (of valour); Uttira-Lāḍam (on the shore of the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gaṅgā whose waters, bearing fragrant flowers, dashed against the bathing ghats (*tīrtha*) along its course). ”

1. E. I. IX, p. 233. My translation differs from that of Hultzsch at some points, and these differences are explained in the notes to the text in Appendix-B.

The Tamil passage thus translated calls for one remark which will indeed be quite obvious to students of Tamil literature. The short descriptions of the different places mentioned are by no means to be understood literally, as they are more often the result of the composer having invented particular expressions to rhyme with the proper names he handled, than of a studied effort on his part to convey accurate information geographical, military or ethnic about these places. The following rhyming pairs illustrate the point : Vikkīrama—śakkara; kāmīdai—nāmaṇai; Veñjilai—Pañja; Pāṣuḍai—Māṣuṇi; Taṅgāda—Vaṅgāḷa, and so on. This being so, Kōśalai-nāḍu may have been described as abounding in Brahmins for no other reason than that Pūśurar (Brahmins) rhymes with Kōśalai. At any rate, there is room for some hesitation before one accepts the suggestion that has been made,¹ that at this time, the Mahākōśala country of the central provinces became a home for Brahmin refugees from the rest of Hindustan which was harried by the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Sanskrit verses omit all that precedes the conquest of Indraratha. Even this omission is indirectly helpful by the suggestion that may be drawn from it, that everything that precedes it in the Tamil record may possibly form one distinct stage, the earliest of the campaign. This suggestion gains some support from the language of Tamil Text which seems to imply that Śakkarakkōṭṭam, Madurai-Maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Pañcappalli were different places in the Māṣuṇidēśam, which were attacked and reduced one after another before the conquest of the whole area was completed. Māṣuṇi-dēśam means 'the country of the snakes.' Nāga-lōka, in legend, is the celebrated subterranean land of the snakes with Bhōgavatī as its capital, a land of beautiful women, and unclouded enjoyment of life. Whether the legend grew out of the fact, or gave rise to it, we have an exact counterpart of it in epigraphy. There were kings of the Nāgavamiśa ruling in the eleventh century over the region now occupied by the modern Bastar state.² They were of the Kāśyapagōtra and called themselves Bhōgavatipuravarēśvaras. One of them ruling about forty years after the date of Rājendra's invasion called himself Madhurāntaka ; meaning, no doubt, conqueror of the Madurai-maṇḍalam of our inscription. That the

1. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* p. 550.

2. E. I. IX pp. 161-4 and 174 ff.

territorial divisions of the Nāgavaṁśī kingdom were called Maṇḍalas becomes clear from the Rājāpura plates which speak of Rājāpura as being in the midst of Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala—*Bhramarkōṭya-maṇḍalamadhye Rājā-pura grāmam*.¹ The place called Śakkarakkōṭṭam in our inscription is easily recognised in the Cakrakōṭya-maṇḍala,² of the same plates, which probably, survives as Mr. Hira Lal points out in the present Citrakūṭa or Citrakōṭa, eight miles from Rājāpura.³ That we are unable to identify at present Pañcappalli and Nāmaṇaikkōṇam will hardly be considered a serious objection, in the face of so many exact coincidences between the data in Rājēndra's inscriptions and those of Nāgavaṁśī epigraphy, to our identifying Māśuṇidēśam with the land in the modern Bastar state ruled by the Nāgavaṁśī branch of the Sindas who, it may be noted, by the way, had the tiger-crest like the Cōḷas from whom in later times they occasionally traced their descent.⁴

After the conquest of Māśuṇidēśam just across the frontier of the Vēṅgī Kingdom to its north, Rājēndra's general had an encounter with Indraratha of the lunar race. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates vaguely imply, and the Tamil *praśasti* expressly states, that a battle was fought in which Indraratha was decisively defeated and taken prisoner at a place called Ādinagar. This success led to the surrender of the Oḍḍa country and Kōśalai-nāḍu, doubtless, the region corresponding to modern Orissa and the Southern Kōśala country to its west. On the identity of the king of the lunar race, Kielhorn made the suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhōja of Malwa mentioned in the Udaipur inscription.⁵ This seems not unlikely as the enemy of Bhōja, a Cēdi ruler,⁶ came of a family of kings who, soon after this period, are seen to adopt for themselves the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, about 1042 A.D.⁷ It is equally possible that the opponent of

1. E. I. IX, p. 180. 11. 15-16. I do not feel sure that Mr. Hira Lal is justified in saying of Madhurāntaka that 'his *rāj* was limited to Bhramarkōṭya' and that 'he appears to have been a Māṇḍalika (feudatory chief)'. *ibid* p. 178.

2. 11. 28-9.

3. E. I. IX, p. 179.

4. 231 of 1903.

5. E. I. VII, Appendix p. 120, n. 3.

6. Cediśvarēndraratha, E. I. I, p. 235, 1, 20.

7. E. I. XI, p. 188.

the Cōḷa advance in this region was a ruler (otherwise unknown to epigraphy like several other persons and places mentioned in this *praśasti*) who belonged to the Sōmavarṃśī dynasty which held sway in Orissa about this period. The identity of the battle-field is not less elusive than that of the king who suffered defeat there. Discussing this question, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes.¹ "His (Indraratha's) capital Śādinagar (Śādi-nagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jājnagar of the Muhammadan historians) is no other than Yayātinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kēsari kings of Orissa. This Yayātinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonpūr Binka of the maps) on the river Mahānadī by Pandit Hira Lal." It is a pity that the learned scholar just cited gives no indication about the source for his reading of the name of Indraratha's capital-Śādinagar. There is no warrant for this in the published plates of either the Tirumalai rock inscription,² or the Tanjore inscription, which latter very distinctly reads 'Ādinagar'.³ In some of the other published versions in the more recent volumes of the Texts series of the South Indian Inscriptions, we get the readings- 'Vaṅkīrtti Ayādinagar',⁴ and 'Vaṅkīrtti-Yādinagar' often written as "Vaṅkīrttiy-Yādinagar".⁵ But no student of Tamil epigraphy can fail to notice that the first 'y' or 'ya' in these latter readings must be taken to form part of the word 'kīrtti' especially with the 'Ādinagar' of the Tanjore inscription before him. But the reading 'Ayādinagar' following 'kīrtti', if it is firmly established, would go far to justify the view that Yayātinagar, said to have been founded by Yayāti Kēsari,⁶ with whom the Kēsari dynasty began its career, and not any other city, was the field of the battle. Pandit Hira Lal's identification of this place with Sonpūr-Binka exactly meets the case, as this place would lie on the route of an army marching along the usual route to northern India from the modern Bastar state. There is nothing, however, in the geography of this campaign to prevent our seeking the site of the battle in Jājpur, a place full of the antiquities of the Orissan kings and

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 550.

2. E. I. IX, p. 236. 1, 8.

3. S. I. I. II, plate 3, line 5 end.

4. 171 of 1894.

5. See Nos. 77 of 1895; 78 & 78-A of same year.

6. Hunter-Orissa 1, p. 232.

highly cherished by them ;¹ in the Sōmavarṇśī records, on the other hand, Yayātinagar is said distinctly to have been on the banks of the Mahānadī; Jājpūr, on the Baitaraṇī one of the tributaries of the Mahānadī, can hardly be said to answer the description.² Hira Lal's identification of Yayātinagara with Binka,³ on the Mahānadī rests on two assumptions, both rather weak in themselves ; that the ancient Vinītapura had its name changed to Yayātinagara by a relatively late monarch who had the name or title Yayāti after he became master of that place ; and that the name Binka is a corruption of Vinītapura. Call it then Ādinagar or Yayātinagar, we do not seem yet to be near a satisfactory identification of the place. We have to depend only on the fact that the battle at this place gained for the Cōḷa forces an easy passage through the southern Kōsala and Orissa countries for a rough determination of the route taken by these forces.

There ensues, in the remaining stages of the campaign, a striking divergence between the Sanskrit and the Tamil accounts, and it seems at first sight that the two accounts are irreconcilable. The Sanskrit account says that Raṇaśūra and Dharmapāla were overpowered before the Ganges was reached, omits all mention of Vaṅga or East Bengal, and implies that Mahīpāla was conquered on the return march, though the repetition of the statement⁴ that after conquering Mahīpāla the general caused the water of the Ganges to be brought to his master, is calculated to raise a doubt as to the stage of the campaign at which the encounter with Mahīpāla occurred. The Tamil *praśasti*, on the other hand, arranges the conquests in a different order. First the overthrow of Dharmapāla resulted in the mastery of Daṇḍabhukti; then came the submission of Raṇaśūra of Takkaṇa-Lāḍa (Southern Lāḍa) and that of Gōvindacanda of Vaṅgālādēśa. Lastly the strong Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa (Northern Lāḍa) was attacked and compelled to seek refuge in flight abandoning his treasures and women ; and the Ganges was reached.

It is now generally acknowledged that Lāḍa here refers neither to Gujerat, nor to Berar as Mr. Venkayya held, but is the Tamil form of Rāḍhā, a name by which a division of Bengal was

1. Hunter-Orissa, 1, 239-41 ; 265-72.

2. E. I. III, 355.

3. E. I. XI, 189.

4. *cf.* verses 117 and 119.

known from the second to at least the thirteenth century.¹ At first sight it looks like the Cōḷa army having fought against a number of independent rulers holding sway over a number of petty principalities with varying degrees of success. This is how the matter is understood, for instance, by Mr. R. D. Banerjea who says : "The Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vaṅga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms."² How Mr. Banerjea, who makes this observation in describing the political condition of Bengal before Mahīpāla's accession, can reconcile this view of the Tirumalai rock inscription with his general account of the history of Mahīpāla's reign, it is not easy to see. Mahīpāla had, by the time of the Cōḷa inroad into Bengal, occupied the Pāla throne for some years, and successfully revived the glories of the Pāla Kingdom, by a series of vigorous campaigns which made him master of a considerable empire extending up to Benares in the west and brought him into hostile relations with rulers of the Cēdi kingdom.³ Moreover, the Tirumalai inscription describing the state of Bengal at the time of Rājendra's invasion can hardly be evidence of what was in existence several years before its date. There is nothing in fact in the language of the Tirumalai inscription that militates against our assuming that the strong Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa who was attacked last was the suzerain who had a sort of hegemony in the whole region taken by the Cōḷas from Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra and Gōvinda-candra. The name Dharmapāla suggests some connection of this prince with Mahīpāla, who is known to have deputed in 1020 two other persons called Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla to execute some works in the neighbourhood of Benares.⁴ Somewhat later than the period we are dealing with, in the reign of Rāmapāla, a certain Lakṣmīśūra is styled the chief of all the feudatories of forest lands, apparently in the Pāla kingdom (samastāṭavikasāmantā-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ)⁵ a fact which suggests that Raṇaśūra might have occupied likewise a subordinate position under Mahīpāla. I am therefore inclined to

1. R. D. Banerjea-Palas of Bengal, pp. 71-72. (Memoirs of A. S. B. V.) The *Prabōdhacandrōdaya* has: Gauḍam Rāṣṭram anuttamam nirupamā tatrāpi Rāḍhāpurī (Act II).

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70 & 74.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

5. *Ibid* p. 72.

suggest that in this part of the campaign, Mahīpāla was the chief enemy who opposed the Cōḷa inroad, and that the fights with the other persons named were only preliminary to the final attack on the suzerain ruler, Mahīpāla, who is mentioned together with Śaṅgu in the Tamil inscription. The victory gained against Rāḍhā of which Ganges formed the northern boundary enabled the Cōḷa forces to reach the Ganges, the objective of their whole enterprise.

Overlooking the true nature of the Cōḷa advance into the north and its avowed object, and basing himself on an old report of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri on a manuscript of the *Caṇḍakauśika*, Mr. Banerjea boldly identifies the Karṇāṭas whose defeat by Mahīpāla is mentioned in the prologue to the drama with the forces of Rājēndra, and Mahīpāla himself with the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It has long been recognised, however, that the Mahīpāla of the *Caṇḍakauśika* was the Gurjara ruler of that name ; and there was perpetual feud between the Gurjaras of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-karṇāṭas.¹ Mr. Banerjea's contentions that Rājēndra's forces sought to cross the Ganges into Vārēndra or northern Bengal, that Mahīpāla succeeded in stopping this, and that such details are not mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription because it is a *praśasti*,² will require to be supported by much more direct evidence that has been produced by him before they can find acceptance.

On the other hand, in denying that Rājēndra's invading army at all met Mahīpāla of Bengal, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar seems to let himself go too far in his reaction against Mr. Banerjea's views. In his opinion, Rājēndra's general met and defeated an Oḍḍa king Mahīpāla. He seeks support for this conclusion in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and in a particular reading of the line in the Tamil *praśasti* mentioning Mahīpāla, and it is necessary to examine briefly how far the evidence cited by him supports the conclusion drawn from it. It may be stated at the outset that that the proper interpretation of the verses in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates is not altogether free from difficulty, and that the utmost caution is required in dealing with these verses, especially on account of the apparent divergence between them and the Tamil

1. McDonnell-Sanskrit literature, p. 366; Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 239 & n. Also J. O. R. M., Vol. VI, 191-198

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

praśasti to which attention has been above. Now, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar evidently treats verses 116 to 123 as forming an account of a continuous transaction, and though one may not agree with him in this view, one can urge no logical objection to the course adopted by him. When he says that Dharmapāla was the ruler of Uttara Rāḍha,¹ however, he makes a statement that is not warranted by anything in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and that is, indeed, opposed, by the express statements of the Tamil record that he was the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, and that Uttara Lāḍa was taken from Mahīpāla after his defeat. Again, he speaks of the Cōḷa general,² "joining forces with his master and going forward to attack the king of Orissa who was defeated and killed in battle"; but verses 120-1 do not by any means support this statement, and it must be noticed that these verses do not stand in any definite relation to Mahīpāla mentioned in the preceding verse (119) as having been defeated by the Cōḷa general before he caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his lord. Thirdly, the summary of Dr. Aiyangar implies that the Cōḷa king embarked on the naval campaign against Kaḍāram *before* returning to his capital; whereas verse 122 which mentions the entry into the capital is interposed between the campaign in Orissa and the conquest of Kaḍāram just mentioned in verse 123. On three specific points then Dr. Aiyangar's position seems to go against his sources, and there is no direct warrant from the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates for the view that Mahīpāla, the opponent of the Cōḷa general, was an Orissan (Oḍḍa) king. Turning now to the Tamil inscription, Dr. Aiyangar's plea that this record has been 'somewhat misunderstood owing to imperfections in the writing' is true in a sense rather different from and not nearly so important as what he implies. Now, no one can deny that the Tamil record expressly says that Uttara Lāḍam and Gaṅgai were taken by the Cōḷa army after the defeat of Mahīpāla; the natural inference from this would be that Mahīpāla was the ruler of Uttara Lāḍam, and it would be rather strange if the Tamil *praśasti* also called him the ruler of Oḍḍa (Orissa) especially after having already narrated the conquest of Orissa from Indraratha. We have discussed the readings of this particular line in the appendix and shown that the Tanjore reading which

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 563.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

makes very good sense is the correct one. Dr. Aiyangar, however, holds that "apparently the correct reading of this Tamil line" is given by an inscription (No. 84) from Channapaṭṇa in the Bangalore district in the words: "*Toḍu-kaḍar-caṅgamotṭa-Mahipālanai*", meaning "Otṭa-Mahipāla of Śaṅgama which touches the sea". He adds: "The first three words in full in Tamil would be *Toḍu-kaḍar-caṅgamam*, which means the river mouth which touches the sea." In that case, one should like to know how this phrase when it combines with Otṭa-Mahipāla, yields 'Śaṅgam-Otṭa Mahipāla,' instead of 'Śaṅgamavoṭṭa Mahipāla' as it should be. In the phrase Otṭa-Mahipāla, if the reading is established, Mahipāla may or may not be a proper name. But it is by no means clear that for the correct reading of a Tamil record we must go to Bangalore rather than to Tanjore, or that the inscription from the Bangalore district gives the correct reading in this respect.

We understand the verses of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates differently. With verse 119 we come to the end of a definite stage in the campaign. With it the main project, the taking of the Ganges, is over. The name of Mahipāla is introduced here in this verse as an after thought, and to mark this, the statement, that the Cōḷa general caused the water of the Ganges to be carried to his master, already made in verse 117, is repeated a second time (119). Verses 120 and 121 describe a detached campaign led by the king himself, which seems to be the one commemorated by the undated Mahēndragiri inscriptions of Rājēndra in which the Kulūta king Vimalāditya was defeated and compelled to surrender a number of powerful elephants into Rājēndra's hands. Either the campaign took place after Rājēndra met his victorious general returning from the north, or possibly it was an old story thrown in here by the poet who was bringing his *praśasti* to a close. The campaign against Kaṭāha did not start till the king reached his capital, and there is no indication in our sources that the overseas expedition of Rājēndra started from the Kalinga country.

The result of our study shows then that the campaign in quest of the Ganges was nothing more nor less than the *digvijaya* of the northern quarter undertaken by Rājēndra to make a demonstration of his power. There is nothing incredible in the the distances traversed or in the achievements reported. It was a raid up to the banks of the Ganges across the Bastar State, and

portions of the Central Provinces and Western Bengal and Bihar, and this could easily have been undertaken with the Vēṅgī kingdom as the base of operations. All the same, Rājēndra was proud of this success more than of anything else, and perpetuated it by the construction of the new capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram with its vast lake, the Cōḷagaṅgam, into which were let the waters of the Gaṅges so laboriously conveyed to his country and at such cost. Nothing now remains of the tank whose bed is a thick jungle, and the celebrated city of Rājēndra, for many generations the capital of his successors, is now an obscure hamlet on the confines of the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts.

APPENDIX.

Text of the part of the Tamil Praśasti bearing on the campaign :

vikkirama-vīrar Śakkarakkōṭṭamu-
mudirpaḍa vallai¹ Madurai-maṇḍalamum
kā-miḍai vaḷanagar² Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum
veñjilai-vīrar³ Pañca-ppalliyum
pāṣaḍai-ppaḷana⁴-Māṣuṇidēśamum
ayarvil-vaṇ-kīrtti Ādinagar⁵-vaiyir
candiran tolkulatt-Indirarathanai
viḷai-yamar-kkaḷattuk-kiḷaiyoḍum piḍittup-
paladanattoḍu niṇai kuladanak-kuvaiyum
kiṭṭaruñ-jeri-miḷai⁶ Oṭṭa-ṣiṣaiyamum

1. Hultzsch's translation here runs: "whose forts (bore) banners, (which touched) the clouds." The text is not easy, but cannot by any means yield this meaning. Vallai = quickly; Udirpaḍa = be destroyed.

2. This reading found in 176 of 1923 gives the best meaning in the context.

3. 'Veñjina-vīrar' is another reading, equally good, meaning 'warriors fierce in anger.'

4. This is the Tanjore reading (S. I. I. II. 20), very satisfactory. The Tirumalai rock has "Pāṣuḍaippalanaṇ-māṣuṇidēśam"; we may either cancel the 'ṇ' at end of 'naṇ' and equate it to the Tanjore reading; or follow Hultzsch (E. I. IX) and say—"Pāṣuḍai-ppaḷa=naṇ-māṣuṇidēśam".

5. Ādinagar is clear in the Tanjore inscription. *Yādinagar* in Tirumalai; *Yyādinagar* in others; *Ayādinagar* once that I know of. Never *Śādinagar*, as suggested by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. 'Ayarvil vaṇkīrtti' is rendered by Hultzsch into: 'which was famous for unceasing abundance', which seems rather forced. 'Ādinagaravayircandira' must be split into 'Adinagarvaiyir' and *candira* where 'vaiyir' is the locative case ending. The meaning is simply 'at Ādinagar', not 'in the *Sabhā* (avai) of Ādinagar.'

6. 'Miḷai' is a synonym for 'kāvarakāḍu', 'protecting forest' or 'forest defence'. Hultzsch has apparently missed this meaning.

pūśurar-śēr nar-Kōśalai-nāḍum
 Taṇmapālaṇai vemmunaṇai-yaḷittu
 vaṇḍuraśōlait-Taṇḍa-puttiyum
 Iraṇaśūraṇai muraṇugat-tākkitt-
 tikkaṇai kīrttit-Takkaṇa Lāḍamum
 Kōvinda-śandaṇ mā-vilindōḍat-
 taṅgāda-śāral Vaṅgaladēśamum
¹toḍu-kalarc-Caṅguvo-ḍaḍal-Mahipālaṇai
 veṇjamar-viḷagattaṇjuvittar-liyu
 oṇḍiral yāṇaiyum peṇḍir paṇḍāranum
 nittila-neḍuṅgaḍal-Uttira Lāḍamum
²veri-malart-tīrttat-teripunar-Kaṅgaiyum.

1. This line has suffered most by a defect in stone giving rise in the impression (S. I. II. 20 plate) to what looks like a dot over the first *ḍa* in 'Voḍaḍal' which was therefore read as 'Voṭṭal'. 'Kaḍar' for 'Kalar' in some copies is the result of an easy substitution of 'ḍa' for 'la'. The metre is best satisfied by the Tanjore reading: 'Toḍukalar-caṅgu-voḍaḍal-Mahipālaṇai.' There is hardly any room for *tōḍu*, *Ṣaṅguvoṭṭal*, or *ṣaṅgamam* or *Oṭṭa*. *Ṣaṅgu* must be a proper name, a person of whom we know nothing now, except what is stated here. It is curious that the same mistake in deciphering seems to mark a similar phrase in Rājādhirāja's inscriptions—See the variant readings in S. I. I. IV no 539, l. 22 and V no 465, l. 12 of what beyond doubt must be *paḍaiṇarodaḍalarivāraṇa(m)*.

2. 'Veri-maṇal' in some copies, not so good. Meaning 'fragrant sands.'

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A NOTE ON THE DATE OF ŚAṆKARA.

BY

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My object in this short note is not to discuss at any length the difficult subject of the date of the great founder of the Advaita system as we know it, but just to draw the attention of scholars interested in it to a striking epigraphical datum that seems to have a bearing on it. It occurs in *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Volume I, recently published by G. Coedes, the Director of the French School of the Far East at Hanoi. At pages 36-46 of this work we have a very interesting inscription recording the the foundation perhaps of a Śiva temple by a certain Śivasoma. The date of the inscription is given in the Khmer part which follows the 48 Sanskrit verses constituting the first part of the record. It is unfortunate that the last figure in the Śaka date is illegible while the first two figures in it are clearly 8 and 0, so that the date of the inscription lies between 878 and 887 A. D.

Now Śivasoma was the preceptor of King Indravarman who reigned between 877 and 889 A. D.¹ This is clear from the reference to him and to his pupil in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, where soon after the mention of Indravarman and his hotar Vāmaśiva, we read:²—

Śivasomasya tad-rājaguror Vāmaśivāhvayaḥ |
Antevāsyātmavidyaugha iva mūrttau bahirgataḥ ||
Śivasomas sa tenāntevāsinā saha dharmyadhīḥ |
Kṛtvā Śivāśramam tatra śaivam liṅgam atīṣṭhipat ||

1. BEFEO, XV, No. 2, p. 183.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Whether the āśrama referred to here is the same as the foundation of the new inscription under reference we cannot say. But attention must be drawn to the fact that Śivasoma's pupil is described as Ātmavidyā incarnate. Now in the new inscription of Śivasoma we find that he claims to be the pupil of Śaṅkara. The relevant verses are Nos. 39 and 40 in the inscription, and they read as follows:—

Yenādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavacchaṅkarāhvayāt |
 Niśśeṣasūrimūrdhālī-mālālīḍhāṅghripañkajāt || 39 ||
 Sarvavidyaikanilayo vedavid viprasambhavaḥ |
 Sāsako yasya bhagavān rudro rudra ivāparaḥ || 40 ||

In his short introduction to the inscription Prof. Coedes remarks: "Śivasoma had Bhagavat Rudra for his master (40) and had 'learned the śāstras from the mouth of Bhagavat Śaṅkara (39)'. It is not impossible that this is a reference to the celebrated Śaṅkarācārya whose activity in India falls at the beginning of the ninth century." If this is a correct view of these verses, as I am inclined to think it is, there follow the most interesting results: *firstly* that Śaṅkara counted among his pupils a scholar from Kāmbhōja across the seas, for Śivasoma was the grandson of the maternal uncle of King Jayavarman II (802-869 A. D.)¹, and *secondly* that the intercommunication between India and the colonies of the East was so brisk and active as to justify the view commonly stated by the contemporary Arab geographers that the peninsula and the archipelago that lay to the south of China formed parts of India.

1. V. 30 of Śivasoma's inscription.